/276 cont./

511 the Indian who furnished the tribe with square stone grindstones
463 used to polish hard woods and sharpen bone and iron tools was con-
595 sidered particularly /277/ competent, and the benefits of his work
(412) relieved him of any farming.

634 One also finds the improvident. The chief of all the villages
66 of the Río Vermelho, whose host we were at Kejara, for several
426 years had used his authority for personal profit. Numerous were
the natives who, having cleared, planted, and harvested for him,
thus had possession of veritable mortgages. From this improvidence
[126] /sic/ we had to obtain ritual objects considered precious. For
[439] Tulawa, who alone was able to dispose of them, had found, in
trading them, a means of obtaining clothing, ornaments, weapons,
and tools, of which he kept nothing and which served to pay off all
[614] his debts. Since in truth his power was limited by the clan chiefs
with whom he held endless conferences before each sale, our
objects of exchange were undoubtedly used in large part for com-
missions and jugs of wine which produced agreement.

556 These differences in resources have a personal character. But
skill in hunting or fishing and abundance of the products of the
[239] earth are secondary elements of good fortune. A more hereditary
type of wealth is constituted by pendants of ounce teeth or pins of
macaco teeth, or also the long belts made of small fragments of
tucum nuts, armadillo scales, and shells, which no present, no
matter how sumptuous, will induce a woman to part with and which
are in fact the result of the labors and hunts of many generations.
556 One day we met a woman in festival costume who was wearing
123 a particularly fine pin on her neck (Pl. X, A, in background /see
p. 48/). Confronted with a mountain of presents, she left with-
out saying a word, and a few minutes later we saw her return with-
out the precious jewel which she never wore again during our stay.
[152] After many efforts we were able to obtain another, less fine example,
but as soon as the transaction became known, it provoked real fury
among the feminine element in the village, which did not spare us
[428] any insults. These ornaments seem to be passed on from mother
or grandmother to daughter or granddaughter by deed of gift.

/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage* was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tuẍawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few
[731] years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream. The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tuẍawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

634
463
301 1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

Brazilian influence. He owns ceremonial regalia and is privileged to suffocate undesirable newborn infants.

Individual differences in wealth occur mainly with reference to highly prized feminine ornaments, which are inherited matrilineally. It is noteworthy that a Kejara adept at manufacturing grindstones for the community was thereby freed from the necessity of engaging in direct activities for subsistence.

Arrows were the major standard of value. They were presented to a jaguar-killer or to the kinsmen of one's mistresses and bartered against cotton or tobacco.

Etiquette.—No man roasted his own kill, but was expected to pass it on to another. Corresponding procedures obtained for valuable furs and teeth. The skin and teeth of a jaguar went to the nearest relatives of the most recently deceased member of the tribe, the slayer receiving as his reward a decorative bow and arara feathers.

Some regulations naturally fall under the category of taboos and ritual prescriptions. Before a hunt a *Western Bororo* was continent for 4 days, and painted his face with urucú. Women were not allowed to touch arrowheads. In the distribution of important game and fish it was essential for the bari to consecrate the animals, whereupon he might appropriate the choicest pieces.

Sneezing is connected with distant members of one's family.

WARFARE

War arrows were of seriba-palm wood and had a bamboo tip which broke in the victim's body (fig. 53, *g*). A club sword, a little over 3 feet (1 m.) in length, of heavy aroeira wood and lanceolate form, was suspended by a cord from the left shoulder. The spines of meru and tamu fish, attached to bracelets or to the fingers, made effective knuckle-dusters.

The *Cayapó* were the chief enemies of the *Eastern Bororo*, and *Guaná* and *Guaycurú* of the *Western Bororo*.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—At a São Lourenço child's birth the parents fast for 2 days, taking only a little warm water on the third, lest father and child fall ill. In the Rio das Garças group abstention from food, drink, and smoking lasts from 3 to 5 or even 10 days, the object of the taboo being to make the infant able to bear hunger. The mother does not touch meat for several months. Parents here must not put their hands on their hair during this period—an indirect suggestion of a scratching stick—lest their hair turn white.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

an evening dress. Some days afterward, another sedate captain appeared at our hut gravely wearing my companion's riding boots, a cutaway coat and a hat, *only*. Again, a big, burly savage would be seen arrayed only in a garment which was once a white shirt, and a hat; or, finally, wearing nothing but a hat. The hat, too, is only an ornament, as custom among these primitive people does not require its use.

To give them in exchange for articles of their manufacture, and for food, I had brought a number of knives of various sizes, a quantity of bright-colored cloth, beads, and fishhooks of different sizes, but no axes, because of their weight. The Bororó, like all primitive peoples, are fond of bright colors, of which scarlet is much the most admired. They dislike black, for it is the emblem of mourning to them. Whenever they brought anything to me for exchange, they placed it upon the table, then withdrew to the background as if they purposed to give it to me, gratis. But knowing their ways, we would ask them what they wished in exchange, and they would point to the article desired. As their standard of values was far different from mine, I sometimes found that they asked much less for their products than they should receive, in which case I usually added an article or two. At other times, they demanded articles in exchange that would have made the object they brought me very costly. But we usually sent them away satisfied.

One day, five splendid warriors came to visit us from a distant village called the Kogi au Páro, bringing with them beautifully ornamented bows and arrows, having heard that we were giving knives and other useful articles in exchange for their products. They filed, cat-like, into our hut with solemn and dignified mien, and "laid down their arms" upon our table, then modestly withdrew to the rear of the primitive company that surrounded us. My companion, Senhor Antonio, then said to the first man, "*Caiba?*"—what do you wish? "Axe," he replied, making us understand by a mixture of native and Portuguese words and by signs, as did they all; in fact, they communicated with us more by means of

437 signs than by words. "*Caiba?*" again said my companion to the second copper-colored figure. "Big knife," he replied. The third man explained by shivering and acting cold, and going through the motions of drawing on a shirt and pulling it down, that he wanted a shirt; while the fourth and fifth wanted cloth.

To the first, we explained by words and signs, "Axe, none, —tramp, tramp many days—mule, one—trail bad." Neither did we have a shirt for the third man. But he insisted upon having one, saying, "*Boé*, sick; *Boé*, cold"—me sick, me cold. I was uncertain what to do to satisfy him and obtain his beautiful bow and arrow. But at this juncture, one of our men, a stripling of nineteen years, came to the rescue, offering his undershirt on condition that I get him another. When the garment was brought in, however, and displayed to the big Bororó, and was seen to be even smaller than its slim owner, the savage exclaimed in dismay, "*Baikymo!*"—no, no, me fat! and he passed his hands over his big body. Finally, I remembered that I had a small tent which I could not use. This I tore up and made all the men happy who wanted cloth and shirts. The Bororó do not appear to make any use of [281] the skins of animals for covering, and apparently, have no knowledge of tanning.

[571] They always joined in helping one of their number who was making a trade with us, by lauding the object offered, and demanding a good return from us. We were sometimes flooded with certain articles of their manufacture. One day, [532] some queer little dolls were brought to me, which I traded for [126] as I had none; but the next day I was surfeited with them as they are easily made.

152 The little black box, my camera, caused the savages much anxiety. They would take to their heels whenever they saw me pointing it toward them. It is useless to try to explain to them how it works, for it is so far beyond their comprehension that they cannot possibly understand it. It is an inscrutable mystery to them, and they regard it with superOOO stitious fear. A contrivance that can stamp and preserve in

/502 cont./

836 548 contentedly. She lay beside her preferred man, entirely at ease under the red coverlet, and both were cracking palm nuts. One day we saw Moguyokuri goading the young men to adorn Maria, who was so wild in the wrestling bout and now so humble. Six of them immediately pounced on her and painted her.

The ranchão women were given arrows with long bamboo points by their lovers. Each one presented two, which the girl accepted, squatting, with an indifferent expression. Once when I was present, I counted 18 such love arrows for one girl. They [602] are delivered to the brother or to the brother of the mother. [851] The ranchão girls no longer marry an individual; if there are children, all the men of the ranchão with whom she has had intercourse are regarded as the fathers. These are entirely regulated [561] conditions which result from the superior power of the older ones; [439] they possess and receive from the girls who are handed over to the men's house, and on whose account they may reach an agreement, a regular income of arrows or ornaments, such as, for example, the suspender strings, which are also considered 838 payment. Pederasty is said to be not unknown in the men's house, but to occur only if the shortage of ranchão girls is unusually great.

224 We have already seen how well regulated property conditions are by the circumstance that the hunting booty does not remain 768 in the hands of the one who captured it. It is a great loss for the family when a member dies. For everything that was used by the deceased is burned, thrown into the river, or packed into the bone-basket, so that he will under no circumstance have occasion to come back. The hut is then completely cleared out. [431] The survivors, however, are presented with new things; bows [825] and arrows are made for them, and custom has it that when a [802] jaguar is killed the skin is given "to the brother of the woman who has most recently died or to the uncle of the man who has 593 most recently died." The brother of a woman was always pointed out to us as her chosen protector. Arrows are the most 436 important object of value; they are given to the brother /503/ of the ranchão girl or to the jaguar killer; they are the equivalent of tobacco and cotton in barter.